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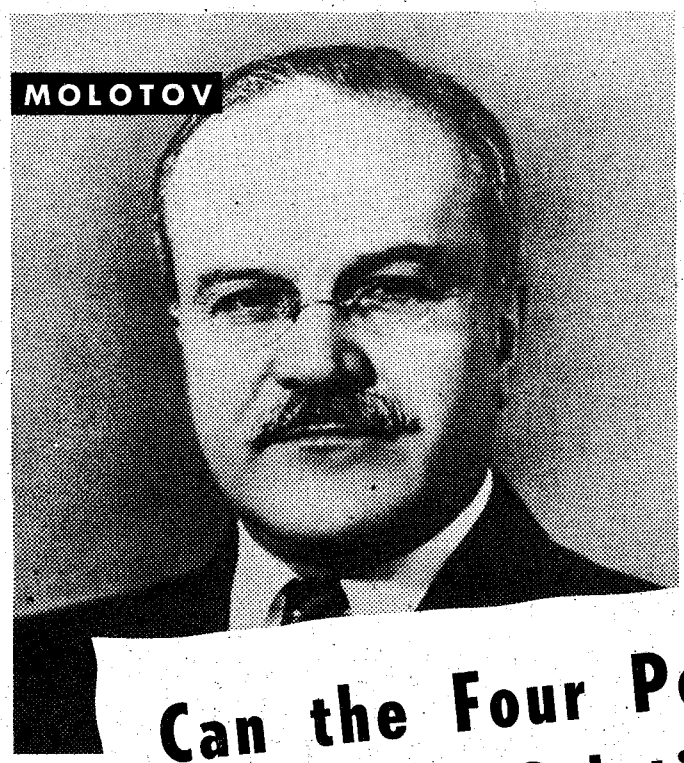
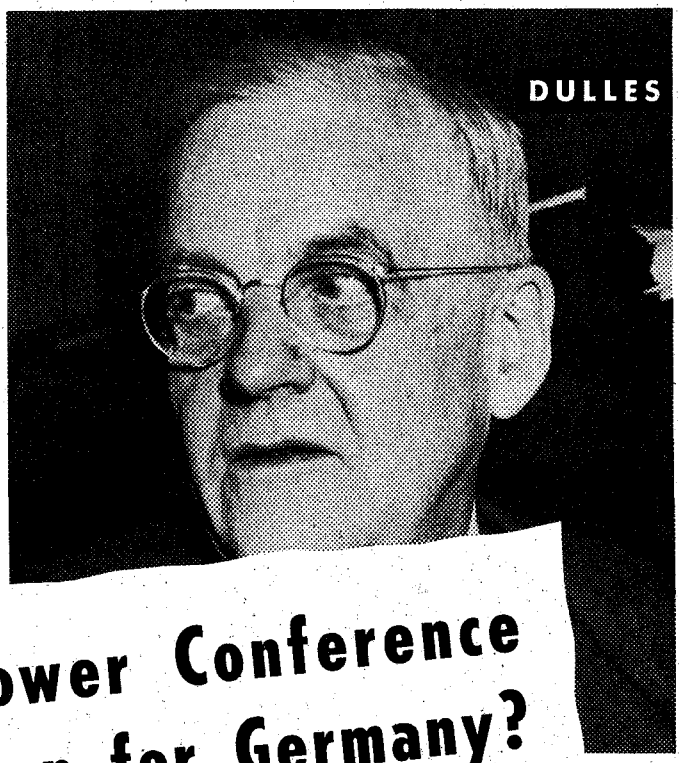
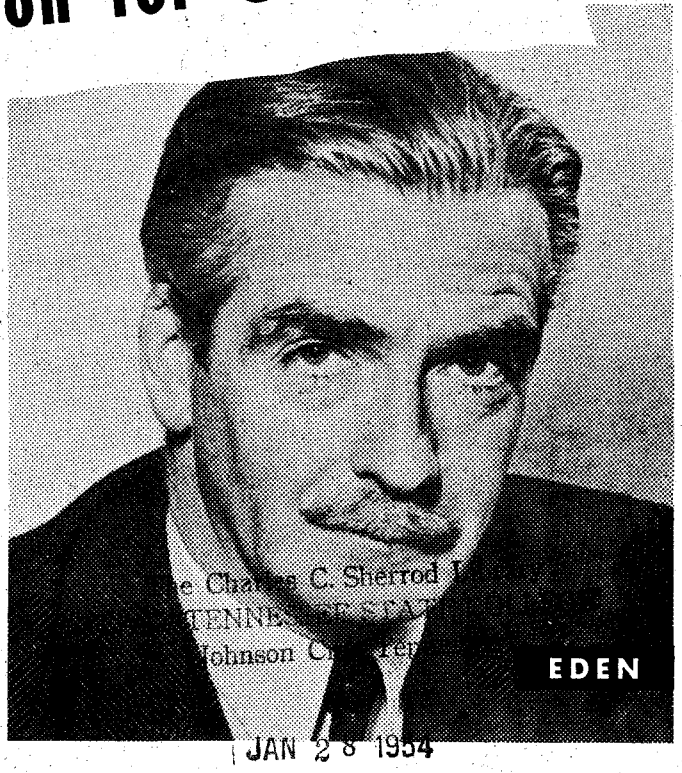
HOW WISE IS IKE'S BUDGET?

New Republic





Can the Four Power Conference Produce a Solution for Germany?



JAN 28 1954

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

We are frequently told by Republican friends that the "moral climate" in Washington has vastly improved. So we expanded our lungs and took three deep breaths of the new moral climate.

The first was over in the State Department. There McCarthy's stooge Scott McLeod has a queer position. McLeod is not merely the security (police) officer; he is the personnel officer, too. To appease McCarthy, Ike and Dulles have not merely made McLeod the cop, but they have put the cop in charge of picking diplomats. Five old-line conservative American diplomats, headed by Joe Grew, warned last week of "sinister results" in the new atmosphere of fear. Expand your lungs, friends, in this fine new moral climate.

Feeling a bit giddy, we took our next deep breath in the Senate committee room where they were approving Robert E. Lee as a Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission. It is agreed Lee knows nothing about the subject. The candid candidate explained he had originally applied for the job of Assistant Controller-General. His wife was matron of honor at McCarthy's wedding. Lee helped McCarthy smear Sen. Millard Tydings in the 1950 campaign. He helped Texas multi-millionaire oil primitive, H. L. Hunt, organize his "Facts Forum" on TV and radio. Hunt and Lee put McCarthy on the first program. It has been reported that Hunt will back McCarthy for President.

The big present job of the FCC is to make fair distribution of valuable new TV channels. McCarthy summoned former FCC Chairman Walker to a private session, and demanded that Milwaukee's educational TV channel be turned over to Hearst. Walker refused. Lee now replaces Walker. Many people think it was Lee's presence on the FCC as an interim appointee that caused the big networks to give McCarthy $300,000 free time to answer Truman.

A little nauseated, we felt we could get a reviving draught of the new moral climate if we followed the debate over the "2,200 security risks" fired by the Administration. The point here is what were they fired for? Were they drunks or psychos who would have been dropped anyway by any Administration, or were they "Reds" as leading Republicans loosely claim? The whole fairy-tale that Washington is crawling with Truman Communists collapses if a breakdown of these "2,200" shows they were only the weedy type of misfits and alcoholics rather than disloyal.

But we can't get the breakdown! Reporters have been told by Chairman Philip Young of the Civil Service Commission it's Brownell's business; Brownell passes the buck right back to Young. And the serious thing is that Eisenhower himself, personally, countenances this outrageous refusal of information. The very title "security risk" was dreamed up by the slick, adroit Brownell for its ambiguous implications. Rep. George Bender (R, Ohio) referred last week to "2,000 Communists and fellow-travelers" fired by the Administration. The use is typical. At his January 12 press conference Ike made the astounding comment that some workers had resigned without ever knowing of the derogatory remarks on their record. Gen. Telford Taylor, US prosecutor in the Nuremberg war-crime trials, only found out after he had attacked McCarthy that his card file was "flagged." Is General Taylor one of the 2,200?

President Eisenhower could end this hoax in five minutes by ordering Chairman Young to publish a breakdown. Instead Ike at his January 13 press conference smilingly said he could well understand Young was too busy to give an explanation.

Take a deep invigorating breath, folks, of the new moral climate.

We sympathize with J. Parnell Thomas' decision to try a comeback in politics. He is the former New Jersey Republican Congressman, you remember, whose chairmanship of the Un-American Activities Committee was so rudely interrupted by seven months in jail. Well, what if he did serve a sentence for padding the payroll; he was against Commies, wasn't he? Who can fight Reds without getting a bit spotted! A lot of people approve of McCarthy, who don't like his methods. Why not Thomas? We can tell you right now we are for Parnell Thomas, and any Egg-head who is likely to disagree will have his wires tapped.

The Administration's new Budget is unique in one respect. It includes among federal "receipts" the money from Eisenhower tax recommendations before Congress has granted them. Some $2 or $3 billion of taxes expire automatically April 1 and Ike now says, "Don't let them expire; keep them." Congress may, or may not, do this (it seems rather unlikely), but anyway the Budget lumps the Eisenhower recommendation on the "receipt" side and so manages to show the deficit trimmed down to less than $3 billion.

Mr. Truman never had the nerve to count his tax eggs before Congress hatched them. Truman's paper deficit forecasts were nearly always larger than the actual result; now it looks as though Ike had reversed matters, to underestimate the deficit.

The Administration has cut another $4 billion from defenses, while putting its faith increasingly in A-bombs. We understand its plan is to fight the next war with a pushbutton in one hand and a balanced budget in the other.

Notes: We hope and expect Ike will win his fight against the Bricker Amendment; it will aid his prestige with the public but reduce GOP unity in Congress. . . . There's an amazing change of mood about trading with Iron Curtain countries; Washington now contemplates such trade, saying in effect, "You can have our butter cut-rate but we'll sell at market prices." . . . The Randall Committee on tariffs worked five months with 17 members and produced 18 views; basic fact is that the high-tariff GOP will fight Ike's easier trade program. . . . Now that Congress is persuaded Canada doesn't really want aid to build the St. Lawrence Seaway its last objection to United States' assistance disappears.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

One Step Backward

THE REPORTS and recommendations of the majority of the Randall Commission may represent the political maximum of what can be expected of the present Congress in streamlining our foreign economic policy to match our responsibility for world leadership, but on the whole it will be regarded by many who are concerned with stimulating world trade and economic development as an overcautious, almost timid, approach. The majority does not go nearly as far in recommending liberalization of trade as did previous reports on this subject by the groups generally known as the Taylor, Paley, Gray, Rockefeller and Bell Committees.

While a majority did recommend a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, it did not endorse the many proposals which have been made for either eliminating or drastically amending the so-called "peril point" and "escape" clauses. The only modification proposed is one empowering the President to disregard findings of the Tariff Commission, as to injury to an industry, if he "finds that the national interests of the United States require it." The nations with whom we trade have regarded these clauses as constituting far greater barriers to exporting to the United States than our tariffs. Their industries understandably hesitate to spend money and effort on developing exports when appreciable success on their part is about to bring the threat of imposition of higher tariffs, import quotas or even embargoes by the Tariff Commission. The majority recommendation would limit the power of the Administration in effecting reduction of tariff, in multi-lateral negotiations, to the extent of five percent a year for the period of the three-year Act extension. Obviously, such minor deductions will not stimulate imports appreciably. One exception to this limitation is the suggestion that, if any tariff exceeds 50 percent *ad valorem* of a commodity, in some cases the President can unilaterally reduce it to the 50-percent level. Obviously pressure groups would make it difficult for the President to take such action.

The majority does not recommend the outright repeal of the controversial "Buy American" laws, but does suggest some relaxation in the case of nations who treat American bidders on the same basis as their own nationals. On foreign investments the majority recommends tax concessions along the lines proposed by the President to the Congress, a continuance of guarantees against expropriation and non-convertibility of currencies, and adds the risks of war, revolution and insurrection. Practically all members join in urging the enactment of long-discussed legislation simplifying customs regulations and procedures.

On the controversial agricultural and raw-material problems, the Commission seems broken into "splinter" groups, but the inference is that the majority believes flexible price supports should replace fixed prices, and that there should be a rather complete study and overhauling of the American agricultural policy so as to increase world trade. In this general field of commodities, the majority, somewhat surprisingly, opposes international commodity agreements—which have been almost unanimously endorsed by preceding world-trade study committees.

Gosh, it isn't even safe to resign any more

While there are numerous dissents on specific topics, especially by the Congressional members of the Commission, the strongest and most general was made by public member David J. McDonald, President of the CIO Steel Workers Union. He called for continuation of foreign-economic aid (frowned on by the majority); maximum possible tariff reductions; elimination of the "escape" and "peril-point" clauses; outright repeal of all "Buy American" legislation; and favored government aid to help domestic industries and workers who are found to be seriously injured by the lowering of tariffs or other trade barriers. On a few of McDonald's dissents, other individual members filed statements of outright agreement, or partial agreement.

It had been widely predicted that Chairman Randall favored, and had Administration backing for strong liberalized trade recommendations, involving basic changes in various laws which would bring about greatly increased imports and speed up worldwide economic activity. If these predictions were valid, he evidently had to water down his ideas, and even then there are strong dissents from Congressional members which foretell a bitter fight in Congress even over the rather cautious majority recommendations—though it must be noted that some Congressional members with protectionist leanings in the past (notably Senators Hickenlooper and Bush and Rep. John Vorys) went along on basic policy recommendations, with only rather unimportant dissents.

"Not Interested"

WHEN ASKED to breakdown the much advertised figure of "2,200 persons separated from the government as security risks," Civil Service Commissioner Philip Young answered that he was "not interested" in such a breakdown and did not believe the "average person" was either. Young was expressing what has been obvious for some time now—that the Administration *hopes* the average

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person" is not interested. And a very reliable report on the role of the State Department in these "security firings" indicates why.

A total of 306 State Department firings has been announced. That impressive total is reported to have been worked up by Security Officer Scott McLeod in the following way:

There is a constant and considerable turnover of personnel at State, and in the raw files of any resigning employee can usually be found some bit of gossip which may be labeled "derogatory information." So whenever the files provided any excuse for it, McLeod's people added the names of resigning employees —without telling them—to the list of "security firings."

Also, many State Department employees have been transferred to the Foreign Operations Administration and to the Information Agency. Whenever possible, State transferred these people with a note concerning "derogatory information," then listed them as "security firings"—although most have been cleared by subsequent investigation and were never fired.

In short, according to the report, there was not one single case of subversion in all the State Department "security firings."

One Congressman at least is determined to get to the bottom of the matter. Rep. Morgan M. Moulder (D, Mo.) of the Un-American Activities Committee somehow prevailed upon that body to address a letter to the agencies concerned demanding a breakdown of the "security firings." And Moulder seems determined to follow up the request with something stronger should the agencies fail to co-operate.

One Step Forward

THE EISENHOWER recommendations on social security substantially follow the recommendations made by the Democrats in the past. Even though the President's proposals do not go as far on the size of benefits to be paid and are deficient on the question of disability insurance, his message means that the basic principle of social insurance is now on a bipartisan basis of progressive support.

This is a tremendous victory since it constitutes an outright repudiation of the position taken by the US Chamber of Commerce and Chairman of the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Social Security, Rep. Carl Curtis (R, Kans.). That plan, for ridiculously low pensions of $25 per month for everyone after the age of 65, to be paid out of the reserve funds built up by the contributions of those now covered by the social security system, would be dependent upon the whim of succeeding Congresses for support after the reserve fund was exhausted. The President's message rejects this point of view utterly. It is also clear here that he does not intend to allow the American Medical Association to make up his mind for him. President Eisenhower includes two points that the AMA actively opposes: coverage for doctors under social security and approval of a "waiver of premiums" or "benefit freeze" so that the worker "who becomes totally disabled for an extended period may be maintained at the amount he would have received had he become 65 and retired."

If Congress approves Eisenhower's request, the Old Age and Survivors' Insurance system will be extended to about 10 million additional persons. The present system would be revised to increase minimum and maximum retirement benefits (now $25 and $85 a month respectively) for individuals; raise the income level, under which persons now earning more than $75 a month lose retirement benefits, to $1,000 a year; raise the base for calculating social security taxes and benefits from $3,600 to $4,200 annually; revise the formula for federal aid to support state public assistance grants.

Eisenhower's proposals fall short of what 62 House Democrats are currently urging and what the Lehman Bill in the Senate would do in some respects. But it represents probably the maximum that can be won from the present Congress with the broadest bipartisan support. The insurance companies will intervene to oppose benefit increases. It is unclear where the farm organizations will stand on farm coverage. Those opposing the whole system will try to blow up minor issues into major controversies. On the other hand, many Congressmen will see that social insurance offers the only way the present Administration can bring benefits to masses of people without further unbalancing the budget.

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St. Lawrence

AFTER DECADES of talk since the original plan was advanced and nearly 13 years of Congressional refusal to approve the present agreement, the Senate has voted to permit US participation to the tune of $105 million in construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The House has still to act. But perhaps it is already too late.

Canada's tremendous postwar economic growth—paced by the discovery of vast natural resources—has not only increased her need for the Seaway, but also has made her rich enough to build it alone. And a speech by the Canadian Minister of Transport last spring in Washington indicated that she would be happy to do just that.

The Canadian Parliament already has provided for a completely Canadian seaway project and for separation from the seaway of power development so that it could be undertaken by the state of New York and the Province of Ontario. They have spent some $300 million on developing the seaway as far as the International Rapids bottleneck. And they have indicated that if we would step aside they would eliminate that bottleneck on their own. The Senate's decision was quickly followed by reports of Canadian discontent at the prospect of the US buying its way in for the relatively small sum of $105 million.

Since even if Canada finished the job alone American ships would be protected against discriminatory tolls by international treaty, and since US participation—no longer necessary—would require long and close co-operation between Congress and the Canadian Parliament, it might be wise to recognize what Canada seems to wish us to: that navigation facilities from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Lake Erie are a Canadian responsibility, while from Lake Erie to the head of the Lakes at Duluth they are the responsibility of the US.

Censoring the Censors

BY UNANIMOUS decision, the Supreme Court has struck down the bans imposed by state censors on two controversial films. New York had banned the French film *La Ronde* on grounds of immorality and Ohio had banned the American version of the old German picture *M* as tending to promote crime. Both actions were reversed by the Court without opinion. It merely cited its decision two years ago outlawing the New York censorship of the film *The Miracle*. It was in that case that the Court for the first time recognized the doctrine that "expression by means of motion pictures is included within the free speech and free press guaranty of the First and Fourteenth Amendments."

But the doctrine as applied in these two instances does not mean that censorship is dead. In *The Miracle* decision the Court made it plain that it was upsetting the censorship only because the standard used, that of being "sacrilegious," was improperly vague and was "far from the kind of narrow exception to freedom of expression which a state may carve out to satisfy the adverse demands of other interests of society." And the bans on *La Ronde* and *M* were doubtless voided for similar vagueness in the standards utilized. The Court's action thus means, as *Variety* pointed out, that "hereafter there will be a little more carefully-worded law and a lot less capriciously-motivated personality at work in the practice of cutting and classifying."

The Court is not yet ready to adopt the view enunciated by Justices Douglas and Black that all movie censorship is unconstitutional. It is not yet ready to say, as did Douglas in concurring in the two recent actions, that, "In this nation, every writer, actor or producer, no matter what medium of expression he may use, should be freed from the censor." But the limited step of the Court can mean the end of the arbitrary, senseless bans such as recently imposed in Memphis on the films *Sadie Thompson, Forever Amber* and *The Wild One*. Censors have now been adequately warned that they must act in an adult manner.

Farmers Are Getting Angrier

THE RUMBLING protest of the Midwest and Western dairy farmers at declining prices became a little clearer to the anxious ears of election-conscious Congressmen last week when the Farmers Union held its National Dairy Conference at Madison, Wisconsin.

The attendance at the meeting surprised Farmers Union President Jim Patton and other officials who had hopefully predicted that 500 farmers would attend. More than 1,000 from 24 states registered for the conference and took part in two days of intensive, spirited discussion of what to do about a program to provide stability in the dairy industry. They adopted a set of resolutions calling for 100 percent of parity on dairy products and the Brannan Plan of production payments.

There was little comfort for Republicans in the spirit of the conference. Attacks on Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson and the farm program the Eisenhower Administration has recommended were loudly cheered. Even those speakers who described themselves as Republicans blasted away at the Administration program. One of them, Fred Heinkel, President of the Missouri Farmers Association, declared, "All my life I have believed strongly in the two-party system. I am apprehensive lest the party in power wreck itself, at least nationally by advocating a lower standard of living for the millions who toil in field and feed lot." Republican politicians, some of whom registered for the conference and others who merely observed, made no secret of their distress at the number of Farm Bureau people who attended and joined in the spirit of the gathering. Some of their prominent local leaders worked actively in the conduct of the meetings.

The mood that expressed itself in the revolt that put Rep. Lester Johnson (D, Wis.) into Congress in the Wisconsin special election last November has obviously deepened. Conversations with farmers in and around the meeting hall disclosed unmistakable bitterness toward Benson which seems to result more from the things he has said rather than anything he has done. It appears that his chief value to Eisenhower at present is that he attracts the fire away from the President. It was a serious, hard-working conference of farmers who are frightened and are getting angrier by the day. "Out in Montana," one said, "we are roping and milking Herefords because Benson let the beef market go to hell. Now we can't get the cash we need out of the milk because he is letting the dairy market go to hell."

Madison, Wis. MILES MCMILLAN

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The New Commissioner of Communication

THE NOMINATION of Robert E. Lee as Federal Communications Commissioner has been approved by the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) alone dissented. And now the FCC has two new Commissioners in whose appointment Joe McCarthy was directly involved: the other, is John Doerfer of Wisconsin.

Lee is a close friend of McCarthy's—one who has been very useful to the Senator in the past. When McCarthy finished revising his 1950 charge of "205 Communists" in the State Department downward to 81, all the Senator's cases were found in a list compiled for the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 by Robert E. Lee.

When McCarthy's charges earned him the firm opposition of the conservative Democratic Senator from Maryland, Millard Tydings, Joe's entire staff was organized under Lee and Jean Kerr (now Mrs. McCarthy) to defeat Tydings in his 1950 bid for re-election. They succeeded—in what a Senatorial investigating committee labeled "a despicable, back-street campaign"—by using such devices as a faked photograph of Tydings and Communist Earl Browder mounted in a tabloid called "From The Record." This, Miss Kerr testified, is "the type of literature which should go out in campaigns."

Lee also provided a bank account, in his wife's name, for the funds to be used against Tydings. The initial deposit was a $5,000 check.

Besides this political experience and McCarthy's friendship, Lee's only other qualification for the FCC post would seem to be his work for "Facts Forum."

The "Facts Forum" organization is the creation of H. L. Hunt, Texas' richest oilman. Essentially it is a radio and television program carried by 222 radio and 58 television stations. In recent months it has branched out into the networks and now produces the Mutual Broadcasting Station's "State of the Union" radio program—carried by 315 stations—and ABC's half-hour television-radio show "Answers for Americans." Negotiations are now underway to add the MBS half-hour radio program "Reporters Roundup."

All of these programs are on *free time,* and $200,000 a year Hunt gives the organization as well as other contributions are *tax-exempt,* for "Facts Forum" is claimed to be a non-political, non-partisan educational project.

Yet the consistent pattern of the "Facts Forum" program—which claims to present "both sides" of each question treated—is to divide all national issues in terms of "isolationism, ultra-conservatism and McCarthyism," on one side, "versus treason or stupidity" on the other. This is the conclusion of the *Providence Journal-Bulletin* which published an eight-part series based on exhaustive research after one of its—and the nation's—top reporters, Fred W. Collins, was invited to participate on the program. The invitation came from former McCarthy aide, Victor Johnston, now Director of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, who told Collins that Hunt wanted to spend some of his fortune electing "our kind of guy."

A typical "Facts Forum" program places all conservative, moderate and liberal views in one camp and the extremist-Right view in the other. It presents the former in a highly rational, subdued style, and the latter in highly emotional inflammatory language, usually charging the liberal-moderate-conservative element of the country with subversion, betrayal and treason.

"Facts Forum" does not "educate" only through television and radio, it has distributed free, such books as Clarence Manion's *The Key to Peace* which denounces social developments in the US since 1932 and objects to the word "democracy" in describing this country—and Joseph Kamp's *We Must Abolish the United States.* Mr. Kamp is also the author of *Hitler Was A Liberal* and of *Behind the Lace Curtains of The YWCA,* which charges the YWCA with being a Communist-front organization. Other "Facts Forum" literature: *America's Retreat From Victory* which describes Gen. George Marshall as "steeped in blood"; and *McCarthyism, The Fight For America,* both by McCarthy.

"Facts Forum" also furnishes instructions for receiving the literature of Mervin K. Hart and Dr. Edward Rumely.

Robert E. Lee went to work for "Facts Forum" shortly after McCarthy and Hunt met to discuss the Senator's political situation. His helper was the present Mrs. McCarthy. "She and Robert E. Lee were instrumental in getting together the first 'Facts Forum' programs, the television programs," says Hunt.

Questioned about this job, Lee told the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee that "Facts Forum" was "in the public interest" and "fairly presents both sides."

Controlled, the FCC could do incalculable favors for the chosen. McCarthy already has intervened in favor of a contested Hearst application for a television channel in Milwaukee. And H. L. Hunt, with the supporting vote of Lee, was permitted to change a personal application for a television channel in Corpus Christi so that he could be given an uncontested channel.

And a controlled FCC—which renews television and radio licenses each year—could do incalculable harm to anyone who "gets out of line." When McCarthy demanded free time to answer Harry Truman's speech, then turned down as insufficient the 15 minutes NBC offered him, the network gave him half an hour because "we're scared." McCarthy then said that if any local stations which had carried Truman did not carry him he would complain to FCC.

The threat carried—and will carry—weight because complaints by McCarthy and Company would find sympathetic ears at the FCC. On the other hand, if the question of the propriety of giving free time to such partisan propaganda organizations as "Facts Forum" should be asked, it would come before at least one Commissioner who not long ago was saying: "Hello there! This is Robert E. Lee, your Facts Forum moderator, speaking to you from our office in Washington, D. C."

The *Providence Journal-Bulletin* reached this conclusion about "Facts Forum," January 4, 1954:

"But, the major criticism that can be made of 'Facts Forum' is that its net effect is to disseminate fear, suspicion and divisive propaganda.

"The consistent pattern of its 'both sides' broadcasts is to reduce all national issues to:

"Isolationism, ultra-conservatism and McCarthyism—versus—treason or stupidity.

"The results of this, if carried into the entire field of mass communication, could be to increase the pressures dividing segments of American society, to increase group hatreds, and to implant suspicions which did not exist before."

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: Eisenhower's Calculated Risk

THE FIRST Eisenhower budget will finally offer a test of two theories expressed long and ardently by Robert A. Taft. Taft championed the contention of business that lower taxes and less government spending would encourage industry to take command of the economy and do the things government did under the New Deal and Fair Deal. He argued the case for reducing defense costs, and so permitting such tax cuts, by concentrating on the build-up of a strategic air force with atomic retaliation as its chief weapon and cutting-back the other forces to a minimum. These two conceptions are the heart of the dollar-and-cents budget which Eisenhower has now submitted to Congress. Inherent in it are two of the gravest calculated risks which could be taken by government—risks which could endanger the national security and the national economy.

President Eisenhower proposes expenditures of $65.6 billion in the next fiscal year and estimates that government income for that period will be $62.7 billion, leaving an estimated deficit of $2.9 billion. (If Congress does not agree as requested to cancel tax cuts due to take place April 1, the deficit can be twice that.) Expenditures for national security—for the armed services, military aid to our allies, atomic energy development—make up 68.4 percent of the total. "Fixed costs," such as interest on the national debt, veterans' benefits, require another 21.6 percent, leaving only 10 percent for all the other functions of government.

The construction of a budget this much nearer to balance was possible only because approximately $4 billion is to be cut from defense spending. Our new defense strategy by which we will "depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing," as Secretary Dulles explained it, commits the US to the course which Taft and Mr. Herbert Hoover advocated in 1950 and 1951 of "disengagement" of our land forces committed overseas and primary reliance on air and sea power.

"Dollar motivation is probably the strongest of many reasons for the development of the 'New Look'," according to the *New York Times'* respected military analyst, Hanson W. Baldwin. Because the maintenance of strong land, sea and air forces overseas was deemed too terrible a financial burden, the Eisenhower Administration has decided upon a new foreign and military policy which independent military men generally view with great concern. Hanson Baldwin, for one, points out "some definite inconsistencies" in the new policy which create "implications of future major dangers":

1. The "New Look" emphasizes strategic air warfare and implies the instant readiness of the Air Force's Strategic Air Command. Yet the limitations imposed upon Air Force manpower in the past year; the elimination of 169 B-47 Stratojets from the current Air Force budget and the transfer of B-47 combat-crew-training functions from the Air Training Command to the Strategic Air Command probably mean, taken collectively, some reduction—or at least limitation, rather than an increase—in SAC's readiness and in its immediate capabilities.

2. The "New Look" emphasizes mobility, yet troop carrier aircraft are very sharply cut in the new program, as compared to the Truman program, thus reducing materially the Army's airborne capabilities.

3. The "New Look" emphasizes sea power, yet in future years the Navy will have to decommission some of its combat ships, probably including some aircraft carriers, types considered of key importance in controlling and utilizing the Mediterranean.

4. The "New Look" emphasizes more flexibility and reduction of fixed land commitments, yet the announced impending withdrawal of two Army divisions from Korea has not been accompanied by any increase of either sea or air power in the Far East; nor do these forces have any greater mobility than previously.

5. The "New Look" emphasizes the need for a stronger strategic reserve in the United States. This will be fulfilled in the case of an improved continental defense. But land forces in this country, because of the reduction in the Army, probably will remain at about present level, although their readiness, but not their mobility, may improve.

6. The President has suggested a new "peaceful pool" plan as one possible approach to the vexing problem of international atomic control. Yet the "New Look" emphasizes so greatly our strategic dependence upon atomic weapons and underscores so strongly the necessity for integration of these weapons at all levels of our military establishment that any plan for the international control of atomic energy may soon be doomed by the extensive nature of our military dependence upon such weapons.

Top professional soldiers in the Pentagon privately point out that nuclear weapons are still untested in combat and that there is no certainty a nation can be bombed into submission even with atomic and nuclear weapons, for Japan, they consider, was beaten before the atomic blasts at Nagasaki and Hiroshima. President Eisenhower

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and Secretary Wilson, these professionals believe, accepted the unproved theory that atomic firepower can be an effective substitute for trained manpower as a rationalization for the political decision that had already been made to reduce military spending drastically.

With $4 billion thus saved from defense, a balanced budget was in reach. But properly the higher goal, Secretary Humphrey states, is "a balanced economy," and taxpayers must first be allowed to increase their purchasing power to make up for any lag in the market as a result of reduced spending by the government. The decision was to distribute $2 billion for tax relief among individuals and corporations in the next fiscal year and continue to show a deficit. New Deal economists generally agree with Eisenhower's economic advisers on the need for some tax cuts this year to stimulate buying and ward off further recession. They disagree with the choice of where to cut to best stimulate the economy.

Secretary Humphrey and Budget Director Dodge, the two men most responsible for the new tax plan, believe in the old Taft "trickle-down" theory. They argue that any benefits conferred on industry eventually are passed on to the average worker. "What is good for business is good for the whole country," Secretary Humphrey puts it, in his own version of Charles Wilson's famous saying. The 25-point tax program Humphrey and Dodge have drawn up will help business, and many individuals directly as well, but it may fail to serve the declared purpose of increasing lagging purchasing power.

Working widows with children will get special deductions under the new tax proposals, families can deduct the cost of medical care beyond 3 percent of their income instead of beyond 5 percent as now, but the total saving from these changes comes to little, and the Eisenhower 1955 budget calls for $2 billion more in taxes on employees for such items as social security than the Truman budget of 1953. The extreme narrowness of the changes in taxes on lower and middle income families will permit little improvement in purchasing power. Raising the exemption for individuals on income tax from $600 to $700, would raise the purchasing power of 7 million taxpayers. But Secretary Humphrey argues that this is not a good idea "because that would eliminate some from paying taxes altogether, and I think all Americans want to pay *some* tax to support their government." What will amount to $2 billion at the limit is instead to be given stockholders in a cut in the tax on the income from dividends which will create no significant incentive to purchasing.

BUT most reliance to offset recession is placed in more liberal depreciation allowances to taxpayers to write off future investments in new plants and equipment more quickly—to permit the deduction of roughly two-thirds the cost of an asset in the first half of the useful life of the asset. Only half the cost can be deducted for half the life at present. A more liberal depreciation policy is good principle and can be a valuable stimulus to economic growth if not broadened out too much. It seems unreasonable, however, to expect industry, even with such allowances, greatly to expand capacity unless a growing demand for goods is created.

But assuming that Humphrey and Dodge are right and private business can take up all of the slack resulting from the cut in the national budget and more, the national interest demands government outlays for the people's welfare not provided in the Eisenhower budget. If the Administration feels it is now safe to call for so huge a reduction in defense, then some of those funds should be channeled into programs for improving health, education, welfare and resources development, long deferred while we were paying for the war in Korea. But the request for funds for each of these categories is reduced in Eisenhower's budget. The only budget category which shows an increase, compared with Truman's last budget, is that of interest payments—and most of that $300 million increase is accounted for by the bonanza paid to bankers through higher interest on the debt. Ways to improve schools are to be studied. The Eisenhower recommendation on social security will mean added benefits for many. But provision for public housing is asked strictly as an interim affair and then funds are asked for only 35,000 units instead of the 135,000 called for in the 1949 Housing Act.

Water development and power development have been put on a liquidation basis. Appropriations for the great regional power projects and the reclamation program were cut in last year's budget to 54 percent of the average for the previous five years. This year Eisenhower requests even less. No funds are asked for new power starts, transmission lines or irrigation projects. The only projects being completed are those too far along to be dropped.

The President recommends no funds at all for starting new generating capacity in the TVA system. This means that "the region will face an exceedingly tight power situation in 1957," TVA Chairman Gordon Clapp states. Added power for the Atomic Energy Commission which TVA is now committed to supply will be bought from private producers. TVA will have no margin at all for emergency needs for defense or otherwise.

The minerals program continues on the low level of last year's cutback, as a service to industry. Under pressure of the oil companies there is to be virtual abandonment of research in the production of synthetic fuels, now near perfection.

The protection of the family-size farm so warmly advocated in the State of the Union Message is forgotten in the budget. Funds for the Farmers Home Administration are to be cut 22½ percent, the $19 million appropriated for farm housing in 1949 withdrawn.

The President's Budget Message expresses the determination to "protect our way of life . . . strengthen our economic base . . . enhance the welfare of all our people." The budget itself leaves the result in doubt.

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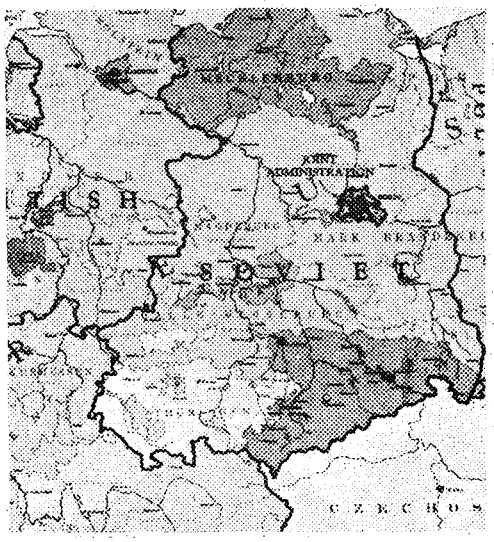

NOTHING is certain about the current Berlin Conference except that it will be hard to follow. With no agenda to restrict them, the Russians will keep many balls in the air at once—but the one to watch will be labeled "plans for German unity."

To see through the juggler's blur, the observer will need to understand just how incompatible the positions taken by the US and Russia have become relative to each other's national interests and to those of Germany, just how strong the Russian bargaining position at the conference will be, and just what is the new mood of a Europe which has been intent upon bringing such a conference to pass. The following pages will help.

Germany Will Decide Her Own Fate

by Hans J. Morgenthau

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE owes its existence, finally, to Russia's unexpected acceptance of the invitation to an exploratory conference first offered by Churchill, then by the Foreign Ministers of England, France and the US. After an exchange of notes which made the prospects for such a meeting all but hopeless, the Soviet Union reversed itself and accepted. Yet there is not the slightest indication that this reversal in Russian attitude toward a Foreign Ministers' Conference signifies a reversal in policy. The objective conditions of interest and power make such a reversal virtually impossible. No Russian Government, regardless of its ideological complexion, personal composition or political preferences, can escape the logic of these conditions; and that goes for all the other governments concerned, ours included. Three such conditions limit the freedom of action of the conferees and measurably predetermine their policies.

The first of these conditions is the fact that by dint of natural endowments Germany is the most powerful nation in Europe and that if nature were allowed to take its course, she would make herself Europe's master. It is this mastery—and herein lies the second condition—which the other nations of Europe refuse to accept and which they have fought two world wars to prevent. It follows that whoever is able to gain the support of all of Germany, or at least of her most important Western part, has gained an important, if not a decisive, victory in the Cold War. It is for this reason that the Soviet Union must prevent West Germany from joining the Western alliance, and it is for the same reason that the US must keep West Germany in the Western fold.

Those stark and simple facts impose their ineluctable logic upon policy. When Western statesmen demand that the Soviet Union as the first step toward the solution of the German problem must consent to free elections in East Germany, they know, the result of such elections being a foregone conclusion, that they are actually inviting the Soviet Union to consent to the integration of all of Germany into the Western Alliance. When the Soviet Union demands as a first step preceding free elections the formation of an all-German government, it knows that it is actually asking the Western powers to open the gates to the Trojan horse of Communist infiltration. The exchange of notes between East and West from July to November of last year has made perfectly clear the incompatibility of the positions taken on either side. That incompatibility is not the result of the whims or the wickedness of governments, but of the incompatibility of their interests as they have defined them.

Yet if the Soviet Union cannot reconcile itself to the integration of Germany into the Western Alliance, and if the United States must prevent Germany from being incorporated into the Russian orbit, is it not logical to take Germany out of the power contest between East and West altogether by neutralizing it under the control of the four powers conferring in Berlin? Such a return to a modified Potsdam regime, proposed by the Soviet Union, has logic in its favor, and in the forties there might have been a bare possibility of putting it into effect. Today it is clearly out of date. While it was

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possible in the 19th Century for the great powers to impose a status of permanent neutrality upon a small country such as Belgium, no nation or combination of nations can now impose upon the strongest power of Europe a status which it has not freely chosen. No nation of the political vitality and aspirations of Germany will in the long run allow other nations to deprive her of an active foreign policy, nor would those other nations be able to resist the temptation to use these aspirations, supported by the uncommitted political and military potential of Germany, for their own purposes. Here we are touching the crux of the matter which will not only determine the outcome of the Berlin Conference, but may decide the fate of Western civilization as well.

THE FACT which has not yet fully penetrated the consciousness of statesmen and peoples is the resurgence of Germany as a great power, not only in her political and military potential, but also in her freedom of action. We still tend to think in terms of the forties when Germany was the mere object of the decisions of others. Yet this conference of Foreign Ministers is not like those of December, 1947, or May and June, 1949, the last ones attempting to settle the issue of a vanquished Germany by the fiat of the victors. While the conferees of 1949 will meet again, discuss the same agenda and probably advance the same arguments, they cannot forget that they have a partner, as yet silent, who will ultimately decide her own fate. The victors of World War II meet ostensibly for the purpose of settling the German question, but in actuality they must try to establish the conditions, most favorable to their own interests, under which the Germans themselves will settle their problems. Germany will not be integrated into anybody's defense system or orbit unless she wants to be thus integrated. She will not be neutralized unless she wants to stay neutral. What she wants, however, will be determined not by treaties or ideological affinities, but by the permanent interests of Germany. If the statesmen meeting in Berlin understand their task, they will compete not for the control of Germany, but for the creation of conditions under which Germany will pursue her interests with a maximum of advantages and a minimum of risk to themselves.

Germany is bound to pursue two national interests over-riding all others: unification and recovery of the Eastern provinces. Nothing the conferees at Berlin can promise, stipulate or guarantee will induce Germany to disregard them. What they can do, what they ought to do, and what they are not likely to do is to create conditions, least dangerous to themselves, under which those two national aspirations of Germany can be satisfied. East and West alike have thought that somehow they will be able to control Germany's efforts to fulfill these aspirations. Here lies the basic weakness of their policies.

Western policy has assumed that by integrating the West German army into the European Defense Community it will be able as well to subordinate West German foreign policy to the foreign policies of the Western alliance. How can the German contingents of a European army, it is asked, be used for German purposes when the German generals commanding German divisions are subject to the orders of a British, French or American corps commander? Yet it is the most dangerous of illusions to expect that loyalty to so artificial and tenuous a chain of command will supersede loyalty to one's own country. Quite to the contrary, the political and military allegiance of a nation will always follow its own interests. History shows conclusively that the cohesion of multinational armies depends upon the identity of the interests of their component parts and that such armies disintegrate, each component part going its own way, as soon as their interests diverge.

Yet—as everybody concerned knows, even though it is not considered good form to mention it in public—West Germany can be integrated into the Western alliance only at the price of giving up her aspirations for unification and recovery of the Eastern provinces. Germany, then, must choose between integration and unification. She has chosen integration for the short run, but there can be no doubt that she has chosen it only as the means to the long-term end of unification. In other words, once West Germany has an army of her own, she will use that army for the purposes of the Western alliance only insofar as those purposes coincide with her own. When they diverge the German army will serve German interests.

Diverge, however, they must with respect to the unification of Germany and the recovery of the Eastern territories. For it stands to reason that West Germany will go to greater lengths to achieve these goals than any other member of the Western alliance. Against that German pull away from the common purposes of the Western alliance, the other members must react with similar centrifugal moves. The United States might embark upon another "agonizing reappraisal" of her position. The nations of Western Europe, and France in particular, must look for protection from a rearmed Germany bent upon Eastern expansion and encouraged in that expansion by her membership in the Western alliance. Such a conflict between the interests of Germany and of the Western alliance, inevitable sooner or later, will give both Germans and Russians their supreme opportunity and, at the same time, threaten the peace of the world.

The Soviet Union holds two trumps *vis-à-vis* Germany, unmatched by any card the West can play. The Soviet Union can overnight satisfy the national aspirations of Germany by throwing its stooges in East Germany overboard and imposing yet another division—the sixth—upon Poland, receiving in return a German pledge of neutrality or military support. It is true that the Russians would pay a high price in the surrender of actual power for German promises which would be kept only as long as Germany was interested in keeping them. But what would be the alternative for the Soviet Union? It would be a rearmed West Germany, her gaze immutably fixed upon the territories between the Elbe and the Vistula

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and dragging the combined strength of the West into a conflagration which would start as a German civil war and could only end in a third world war. Confronted with this alternative, the Soviet Union would have to gamble again, as she did in 1939, upon her ability to keep Germany satisfied, choosing what appears at the moment to be the lesser evil.

It is unmistakable from the evidence of the Russian notes preceding the Berlin Conference that these alternatives are very much in the mind of Mr. Molotov and that he seeks to avoid them. They ought to be in the minds of the Western statesmen as well, and they, too, ought to seek to avoid them. It is that mutual interest in the avoidance of these alternatives, both threatening the peace of the world, which must provide the basis for negotiations between East and West. They cannot hope to find a basis for agreement by advancing or retreating from the positions they have taken in the Cold War. They must alter these positions themselves. The question before the conferees at Berlin is not whether or not Germany will be rearmed and united. Rearmament and unification are a foregone conclusion. The only question worth discussing is how they can be brought about without endangering the peace of the world. The West has it in its power today to rearm West Germany against the Soviet Union, but tomorrow it will have to pay a heavy price for a short-lived triumph. For tomorrow it will not be the West which will bargain with the Russians over the unification of Germany, but it will be the Germans who will do so, with the West reduced to wringing its hands, looking for traitors to pin responsibility on, or going to war.

THE CHOICE before the Foreign Ministers is clear. Will they continue attempting to control what cannot be controlled and to prevent what cannot be prevented? Will they continue to defend positions intended to promote their own legitimate interests and incompatible with the legitimate interests of the other side? By doing so, will they continue to strike poses for the world, while leaving the problems which they pretend to settle where they found them? Or will they begin to realize that the business of diplomacy is not to try to oppose or control the inevitable, nor to propose settlements which everybody knows the other side cannot accept, but to make the best of a bad situation by trying to reconcile one's own legitimate interests with the legitimate interests of the other side, and by anticipating the inevitable through the manipulation of conditions so as to minimize inevitable dangers? Great risks there will be in whatever course the Foreign Ministers shall take. Yet the risks inherent in different courses of action differ in magnitude, and the course which seems easiest to take at the moment and is most certain to be approved by public opinion in the short run may well bring catastrophe tomorrow.

It should be noted in passing that mutual guarantees of peaceful intentions after the model of the Locarno treaties are deceptive and, hence, worse than useless if they are meant as a substitute for a political settlement rather than as the symbolic legal expression of a political settlement already achieved. As long as both sides try to control as much of Germany as they can, their declarations will remain nothing; for as long as the national aspirations of Germany remain unfulfilled and the very territory of Germany remains undefined, there can be no peace in Europe and, hence, in the world. Once a political settlement has been agreed upon, mutual guarantees will be useful in ratifying and strengthening the terms of the settlement.

The rationale of such a settlement is simple: it is the anticipation by mutual agreement of things which will come to pass anyhow. Such a settlement must contain four main points: the unification of Germany through democratic processes, the rearmament of Germany within agreed limits, Germany's complete freedom in the conduct of her foreign policy, a *modus vivendi* with regard to the Eastern territories in the form of either resettlement of German refugees or rectification of the Oder-Neisse line or a German-Polish condominium or Europeanization. The real difficulties which stand in the way of such a settlement are not to be found in these terms themselves but in their military and political consequences. Such a settlement would require a redisposition of the military installations and forces on either side in the form of a retreat beyond the frontiers of a united Germany. Furthermore, it would entail great short-term concessions for the Soviet Union, while in the long run its chances of obtaining the same settlement on its own political and military terms are good. For this reason the Soviet Union can afford to wait; its customary policy of procrastination and delay reflects its long-term expectations.

Thus it is impossible to entertain any hope that the Berlin Conference will be able to agree on such a political settlement. Yet it would be a turning point in the history of the world if it would only show that it has taken to heart Sir Winston Churchill's admonitions by attempting to move from the frozen positions of the Cold War into the open field of diplomatic accommodation.

Molotov's new look for the Berlin Conference

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The Russians Are Not in a Hurry

by Samuel L. Sharp

War, it is frequently said, begins in the minds of men. Peace, the Russians seem to believe, begins in their stomachs. Prominent political personalities in Western Europe, and especially in currently wooed France, have been presented on the occasion of the New Year with baskets containing Russian delicacies. Carrying mediocre Soviet champagne to France may be a blunder, but the publicity given to a traditional custom is indicative of a heightened receptivity to conciliatory, even if secondary, moves on the part of the Russians.

The undeniable existence of this mood is currently one of the main assets of Soviet diplomacy. It is one of the reasons why Molotov can appear at the conference table without bearing the more substantial gift sometimes described as a "change of heart." Another reason is that after long hesitation the Malenkov government has finally hit upon a "new" line—the essence of which is to stand pat on the old one.

The diplomatic skirmishes which constituted the prelude to the Berlin Conference offered the Russians an opportunity to score some tactical victories. They are, after all, meeting at a time and place of their choice, rather than reporting to a rendezvous set one-sidedly by the West at Lugano. This Soviet insistence on negotiating the minutest details of the arrangements concerning a meeting site, is more than an automatic reflex of people conditioned to bargain on any and all occasions. While to the public the wrangle over the choice of buildings and the intricate rotation system may appear a perverse pastime in the shadow of hydrogen doom, to the experts it was no doubt a source of preliminary indications of the mood of the prospective participants. On this occasion, the Russians appear to have served notice that eager as they were to talk about diminishing international tensions, they were no more in a hurry than anyone else.

Compared with the months of groping for a line of policy, in domestic and foreign affairs, the mood of the Malenkov government appears to be one of regained composure. It will be recalled that the first appeal to the Russian people after Stalin's death contained an exhortation against "panic," a strong word to be used by a regime usually claiming complete control and overwhelming support. What followed was a series of thrusts in conflicting directions, no doubt reflecting the fight for power and for an orientation of policy at the top. The newly adopted party statutes were revised; the cabinet underwent several expansions and contractions; in the non-Russian republics there were purges of "Russifiers," followed by purges of advocates of more liberal treatment of the nationalities. In the ideological field a major event was the deliberate attempt to deflate the cult of J. V. Stalin, but there were occasional reappearances of at least respectful references to his achievements. In Eastern Germany an easing of work norms was proclaimed, but when the insistence on a translation of promises into action developed into open revolt, it was crushed with quiet efficiency.

It may never be known just how panicky the Soviet elite, if not the Russian people, was immediately after Stalin's death. If the West had an opportunity to find out—as Churchill and some of the more hotheaded observers of the June riots in Berlin have felt—it did not avail itself of it. Meanwhile, the Malenkov regime seems to have overcome the convulsions of change and struck a new internal balance, with the prominent support of the armed forces. Whatever the future of this combination, it has for the time being permitted the Malenkov regime to stabilize its course, internally as well as internationally. The current stabilization combines a return to the most material aspects of the "Stalinist" line—which the Malenkov regime appeared to have abandoned with a vengeance—combined with more subtle tactics than Stalin was capable of in the last period of his life.

Significant proof of the new stabilization is the lengthy statement issued by the Communist Party of the USSR on the occasion of the 300th Anniversary of the "reunion" of the Ukraine with Russia. This latest major pronouncement of the ruling group is a definite restatement of the line developed under Stalin with respect to the problem of nationalities. Although phrased as a message of greetings to the Ukrainian people, it conveys in ambiguous terms the determination of the regime to combat any foolish notions of a substantial liberalization of policies that may have risen in the confusion of the transition period. The leading theme of the statement is that a centralized Russian state has served historically as a "center of attraction" to the Ukrainians and other peoples; the notion developed by the Soviet historians about the "objectively progressive" contribution of tsarist policies is prominently present. The "leading role" of the Russians within the family of Soviet ethnic groups is stressed, and the Ukrainians are left in no doubt as to whom they have to thank for their liberation 300 years ago and ever since. Even in the field of culture which, according to Lenin, was to serve as an outlet for politically streamlined ethnic groups, the point is made that "an especially beneficial influence on the development of Ukrainian culture is

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being exercised by the socialist culture of the great Russian people."

The connection between the cited document and foreign policy may not be obvious, yet it cannot be disregarded as an indication of the regained self-confidence of the regime.

Having made concessions to the immediate consumption needs of the Soviet people, the regime is doubly interested in discouraging the drawing of exaggerated conclusions from its new course. The reaffirmation of an essentially "Stalinist" policy toward the leading non-Russian group in the Soviet Union is clearly meant to convey the idea that the regime controls the situation in a way similar to that used by a skilled motorist who steers in the direction of a "skid," but continues a firm hold on the wheel. By the same token, having made many secondary conciliatory gestures in foreign policy, the Soviet regime is now interested in making it clear that it was not motivated by fear or panic. Even a superficial appraisal of the international situation by the Soviet leaders could only help them to the conclusion that there is no urgent need for a major Soviet retreat. The Berlin Conference meets not far from the place where President Truman once conveyed casually to a non-comprehending or masterfully composed Stalin the news that the United States had the atom bomb. Now, almost a decade later, Malenkov was in a position to state, also quite casually, that the Soviet Union is in possession of at least some thermo-nuclear weapons. A "balance of terror" has thus been established for the time being. Even if the Soviet Union lags behind the US quantitatively, the Russians, no doubt find ample compensation in the reasonable certainty that no one shows any enthusiasm for finding out what the difference is.

Sheltered by this comforting thought, Russian diplomacy can fall back on the *status quo*. This is particularly true with respect to the German problem. The most recent reformulation of the Soviet stand on the issue, in a prominently featured article by the East German Communist leader Walter Ulbricht, indicates no departure from earlier views. The unification of Germany is to come about by the creation of an all-German provisional government representing—presumably on a basis of parity—the Eastern-Western components. This government would then proceed to hold unsupervised and "free" elections. The united Germany is to pursue an independent foreign policy which in practice means that it would pledge to avoid any connection with a Western European military combination blessed by the United States. Soviet and other foreign troops would be withdrawn from a Germany unified along those lines. With plans for a European Defense Community including Germany thus frustrated, the continued permanent stationing of American forces on the continent would, of course, become untenable. Under maximum assumptions, this would enable the Soviet Union directly or indirectly to obtain control of Europe; within a more limited framework of expectations, Russia would be more secure (at least in terms of traditional concepts of security which still seem to animate Soviet military leaders, atom age or no atom age).

No one expects Molotov, a humorless but astute diplomat, to believe that the unification of Germany can be obtained along the lines of the Soviet proposal. One must therefore conclude that the Soviet Union is prepared to hold on—indefinitely if need be—to the existing split of Germany, possibly under conditions of slightly eased controls in East-West trade and traffic. Nothing that has come to light concerning conditions within Russia, in the satellite area, or in the general international position of the Soviet Union permits speculation on the possible withdrawal of Russian forces from Germany

East Berlin Radio—January 11

"On January 25 the Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Four Big Powers will begin in the German capital. All honest Germans want reunification and freedom, that is, through the conclusion of a peace treaty in which national independence is guaranteed and the withdrawal of the occupation troops laid down. For this reason, representatives from East and West must be given a hearing at the Conference. Raise this demand throughout Germany: Negotiations must take place not about Germany but with Germany."

Prague Radio—January 9

"Just as in 1938, peace is again endangered today by aggressive German Nationalism, this time represented not by Hitler but by his successor Adenauer, the Commander in Chief of the Bonn revanchist gang. In order to subjugate France, the Western German Nationalists invented the crazy idea of a common French-German State with a common parliament as a replica of Hitler's new European order. When this plan, drafted by Krupp and the other Bonn rulers, failed, a new plan of revenge was prepared, disguised as EDC."

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without a very attractive *quid pro quo*. This is not to say that the Malenkov regime will not continue to encounter serious problems, at home and abroad. However, the regime seems to have come to the conclusion that, some appearances to the contrary, no one really is too anxious to press for a unification of Germany: the French are basically against it; Adenauer has every reason not to favor a change that might dilute his present power; and the United States is certainly in no mood to force the event unduly. If by stalling the Russians can delay the consolidation of Western military arrangements, the short-range goals of Soviet diplomacy will have been achieved. It may thus win time—and a "peace" of sorts—to take care of pressing problems, among which Soviet-Chinese relations appears to be moving to the center of attraction.

In response to the intangible pressures of international public opinion the Russians, along with the other great powers, do not want to be blamed for unwillingness to seek an amelioration of the present international situation. They have to be on record as willing to negotiate. A recent statement of the East German Government said: "He who wants peace must negotiate. He who is against negotiations wants war." This may, indeed, be the simple popular impression. The record of diplomacy shows that also those who want neither peace nor war are at times compelled to make believe that they negotiate.

Rarely in history has less been expected by so many than in the case of the present conference. This in itself may not be a calamity. In the past too much was occasionally expected by too many.

Europe Longs for Normalcy

by Frank Gorrell

THE MOOD in Western Europe is slowly but steadily changing toward a relative and hesitant confidence in what the future—or at least the next few years—may have in store for the world—the whole world including both West and East and the relations between the two. There are many confirmatory signs, big and little, in the way people are thinking, feeling and acting of what the *Manchester Guardian* describes as "the general and growing sense throughout many parts of the world that after the time of troubles the world is settling down." It isn't clear of course to what or how. But the wish is so strong that it succeeds in fertilizing the most fragile facts to create the feeling that some semblance of normality is returning. So a shift in mood from dread of war has already gone beyond merely prayerful expectancy of cold peace: some of the attitudes, the ways, the habits of almost-real peace are reappearing.

Local news is resuming its pride of place; national news sells more copies of the newspapers than international news. The cost of a pound of potatoes is more interesting than the price of a military division. People, their pleasures and pains, are more important than policies and the horrendous havoc they may avoid—or invite.

One of the aspects of this timidly nascent phase of normality may seem on the surface to be disturbing. The barriers between the Western Europeans and the Russians are being hacked away in places while new ones are being set up between the Western Europeans and the Americans. This doesn't mean however that anti-Communism is decreasing or that anti-Americanism is increasing.

It means that because of recent events and trends in the US, the Americans who have long been close to the minds, hearts and hopes of Western Europeans, now seem farther away *as people*. The US as the strategic reserve of the free world seems if not isolationist, then at least reserved, apart, different. The wild ovation given on the floor and in the galleries of the Congress to General Eisenhower's proposal to create a category of stateless Americans was for example hard to understand and harder to accept by peoples with bitter memories of proscription as an instrument of policy, good or bad.

On the other hand, recent events and trends in Russia—no matter how they have been produced or whether they are trustworthy—have made the Russians, who have long been inaccessible *as people*, begin to reemerge once again as creatures of flesh and blood with whom human intercourse is both possible and desirable. And after all, in the Western European view, if co-existence is to be made real it must be not only between nuclear weapons and armies but also, and first of all, between human beings between whom ordinary "dialogue" is possible.

After the long reign of Marshal Stalin, during which the men and women behind the Iron Curtain might have been Martians or monsters for all that was truly and dependably known about them, the Western Europeans are delighted—perhaps naïvely—by the chances they have been increasingly given in recent months to see citizens of Russia and the satellite countries on Western European soil; and to observe that—despite the long and cruel break in contacts—they appear to act quite unbarbarously.

Co-existence took on human meaning when a team of Hungarian footballers played rings around an English team, using the methods they had learned from a Scot to defeat the English for the first time on their own soil. The "Arsenal" team, which stands in about the same relationship to British football and national

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popularity as the Yankees, the Dodgers or the Giants to US baseball, will be playing in Moscow this summer.

A member of the Russian chess team against England

The largest delegation of Russian musicians, composers and dancers to visit the West since the end of the war has toured Britain and France, playing to big and enthusiastic houses. The ability of the English chess champion to beat the Russian star and to hold him to a draw for first place in the "battle of Hastings" was a moral victory for Britain; but the Russians gained more psychologically by it. The decision of the French and Russian governments to exchange cultural visits is in the same category. The Moscow ballet will come to Paris in the spring, and the *Comedie Francaise* will go to Moscow to play Moliere, Racine and Corneille. Secretary Dulles was undoubtedly right in saying that the "fundamental" on our Western side is the spiritual, intellectual and moral riches that freedom can produce. Nevertheless, many Western Europeans are finding it comforting and useful to learn that despite the lack of freedom on the other, Eastern side, some of the intellectual, cultural and human riches for which peoples beyond the Iron Curtain were well known before the time of troubles have both survived and developed.

Under the circumstances—the sipping and sampling after long drought—a little goes a long way and in a good direction. The visitors from the East get the benefit of many allowances; and they are swallows who *do* tend to make summers. The situation in the human relation between the Western Europeans and the Americans is almost the opposite. After the long period of community of interest, of shared ideals, ideas and sacrifices, built up and maintained between the peoples on both sides of the Atlantic during the long Roosevelt-Truman epoch, the Western Europeans expect much—perhaps too much—from the Americans, especially on their own soil if not as officials, tourists or cultural propagandists abroad. There are no allowances; standards are high, judgments harsh; and even a small slip from grace goes a long way—and in a bad direction.

It was unfortunate therefore that Dulles should have said—only a few days after the Eisenhower proposal to strip nationality from US civilians (as mark of rank is ripped from a proscribed soldier's uniform)—that "We do not plan ourselves to shackle freedom to preserve freedom." Perhaps not, perhaps an American found guilty of conspiring to overthrow the government is lower than the dust. Nevertheless few proposals in the entire course of McCarthyism have had a worse press over here; few have hurt more the old community of US-European democratic ideals of humane justice, and of course benefited more the re-discovery of the Russians as containing at least the making, in embryo, of "fellow-Europeans."

The *London Times* thought "the means of security may seem to transmute the ends themselves of policy" and that "Eisenhower has started a trickle that could become a torrent. Under his proposal, the courts will decide who loses his rights; next year, perhaps, the decision could be that of one Senator sitting alone as a subcommittee." The *London Daily Herald* talked of "illiberal folly, a sure way to drive treachery underground and make it more dangerous." The *Monde* of Paris said Eisenhower had gone beyond anything that might have been expected of the worst witch-hunters and the *Franc-Tireur* found it "unthinkable that the US should re-establish the barbarous law of banishment."

The Europeans do not as yet expect civil liberty in Russia; they welcome in individual Russians, however, the human signs which suggest a will and a way toward freedom. From Americans as people—including Eisenhower—they most definitely do expect a clear awareness of the relation between civil liberties and freedom. If there can be the suspicion of a "deal" between the President and the Senator from Wisconsin, especially after the Committee assignments, how can the Western Europeans entirely trust Dulles when he says there will never be a "deal" with the Russians, never a plan for a partnership division of power?

The new Western European mood of confidence is already so strong that the cloud of a possible economic depression in the US casts a surprisingly small shadow over here. The new strategic doctrine of retaliation is another matter. Though considered better (and more realistic) than its predecessor—liberationism—there is need for further clarification over here. What kind of aggression will be considered to justify retaliation? Was Gordon Dean, the former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, talking seriously—as with authority—when he said: "It is aggression when a mortar or a weapons carrier from the Skoda works in Czechoslovakia is found next to a dead man from the Western world. It is enough when a MIG, employed to assist an aggression, can be traced to a Russian factory."

But "suppose," says the *Manchester Guardian*, "there is a flare of fighting in Korea as a result of Syngman Rhee's ambitions, and suppose the South Korean troops are found to have tanks from Detroit or rifles from Virginia, would Russia then be justified in dropping atomic bombs on New York and Chicago?

It would help the Western Europeans settle down, and to better and closer relations to the Americans as people and as politicians than to the Russians, to be sure that no US unilateralism needs to be worried about—neither a US "deal" with the Russians engineered through the secret atomic energy talks, nor a US decision about retaliation that might leave millions of Western Europeans dead next to nuclear weapons fragments from both Russian and American bases on the periphery of Europe.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON: *The Superficial Aspect*

PROBABLY the government does not really hate its taxpayers, but it has a fatal facility in giving that impression. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson told a Senate committee recently that by July 1 the government will be holding 800 million bushels of wheat, and by August 1.9 billion bales of cotton both constituting surpluses held off the market under the farm-price support plan. Yet while the government was accumulating these vast stores, the price of bread and shirts was steadily climbing. The taxpayer was being mulcted, not only for subsidies paid to the farmers, but also in unnecessarily high prices.

Without doubt, the farmer needs special protection against the special risks he assumes when he puts in a crop not knowing where the market price will be six months later. Without doubt urban dwellers ought to contribute to that protection whenever contributions are necessary. But having hit the taxpayers once for the subsidy, why should the government hit him again by pushing up the cost of living? It is this second wallop that bears at least the superficial aspect of pure hatred.

It isn't as if nobody had ever been able to figure a way out. The much-abused Brannan Plan took care of the difficulty. Under the Brannan Plan the government would buy one crop at 90 percent of parity. But it would not store the stuff; it would throw the product on the market for whatever it would bring. Of course, this would smash the market, but that's just the point—the market would collapse without smashing the farmer. Protected by the price-support program, he would observe and be warned against over-planting next year. The taxpayer would be stung for the difference between 90 percent of parity and the actual market price; but, on the other hand, he would stand a fair chance of getting cheaper bread and cheaper shirts.

However, the Brannan Plan was denounced as "creeping socialism" and rejected. So the farm products go into storage, the cost of living maintains its dizzy altitude, and the taxpayer is stung not merely for interest on the investment, but for warehouse rent and in the case of perishable products, such as butter, for the cost of refrigeration. It is no wonder if he gains the impression that the government's policy toward him is based on the old maxim of the con man: "Never give a sucker a break."

As far as the money is concerned, this policy has not been ruinous so far, and probably will not be ruinous in the future; but the government's assets are not all measured in money. There is the matter of good-will. Historians are agreed that it was not the one-penny tax that set off the Boston tea party. If you will read the Declaration of Independence, beginning with the third paragraph and going through the twentieth, you will find the most resounding indictment of the British king that the colonists could draw; it is in 26 counts, one of which is "imposing taxes on us without our consent," but the other 25 hardly mention money. They can all be summed up in the one general complaint, "He just doesn't like us."

The outcome of that was war and the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The inescapable inference is that a policy that leads to general dislike of the government is the most subversive policy that can be adopted. Our statesmen apparently can't believe it, but it does far more toward undermining the government than is accomplished by some bum standing on a street corner and shouting "Malenkov is a fine fellow!"

A policy of denying the people benefits that they might as well have for no other reason than that the benefits were first proposed by a member of the opposition party is a policy certain to arouse dislike. In this case, the dislike will be aroused among people who do not live on farms and they are seven times as numerous as the farm population; and when seven-eighths of the people are given reason for cold dislike of their government the situation is far more serious than it would be if the faculty of Harvard University were composed exclusively of card-carrying members of the Communist Party.

But Washington has demonstrated, especially under the new Administration, that it has an astounding capacity for ignoring the obvious. So had his late majesty George III, King of England.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE EVEREST STORY

by Bruce Bliven

ALL THE WORLD knows that Everest, the world's highest mountain, was climbed on May 29, 1953, by a British expedition; the news reached London after the crowds had gathered in the streets for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, and was announced to them over loud speakers. This book is the story of the expedition told by its leader,

THE CONQUEST OF EVEREST, by Sir John Hunt, with a chapter on the final assault, by Sir Edmund Hillary (Dutton; $6).

Sir John Hunt, with a special chapter by Sir Edmund Hillary, one of the two men to reach the final summit (the other was Tenzing, a native of the region, long experienced in mountaineering and like Sir Edmund, a person of extraordinary mental and physical resources).

For thirty years expeditions have attempted unsuccessfully to reach Everest's 29,000-foot peak, sometimes with loss of life. As recently as 1952, a group of Swiss climbers came very close to the top; some of their high-altitude camps and abandoned supplies proved useful to the victorious 1953 expedition. Many mountains, in all parts of the world, are difficult to climb; in the case of Mount Everest, the problems of terrain are augmented by other hazards. For a rough idea of what it is like, you might imagine starting on foot from Detroit, Michigan, to climb the outside of the Empire State Building, carrying with you everything you will need for the entire trip—including the return, on foot, to Detroit. Once arrived at the base of the building, you will mount the outside, establishing window-sill camps at the seventeenth, forty-third, seventy-ninth and ninety-fourth floors, using materials which you have of course carried with you from Detroit.

But actually, this comparison is most inadequate to the problem Mount Everest presents. The weather is so bad on the mountain that ascending it is completely impossible except for a few weeks in late spring or early autumn. Even then, storms are incessant, with wind which can rise to 90 miles an hour, and repeated blizzards. Avalanches are frequent; the ice and snow are treacherous in the extreme; over and over, any climber must get past wide crevasses a thousand feet deep, or ascend a vertical cliff of ice which threatens to fall at any moment. In the morning sun, the weather is annoyingly hot, while many nights the temperature drops to 15 below zero (Fahrenheit)

Worst of all is the attempt to perform strenuous physical exercise at great heights. A person taken quickly from sea level to 25,000 feet becomes unconscious within ten minutes, and at 27,000 feet or so, he will die. Even when he has been slowly acclimated, exertion is enormously difficult.

How did the Hunt expedition succeed where so many others had failed? One minor part of the answer is that it approached the mountain from the southwest; nearly all previous expeditions had used a route from the northwest, which proved too difficult. But the major answer is the application of science to the task. Men were picked for the expedition with great care, on a basis of age, previous mountaineering experience, and physical and mental characteristics. Every item of equipment was selected after deep thought, and previous experimentation. A long period of acclimatization was employed, during which the members of the party broke themselves in by climbing various nearby peaks that are "only" 20,000 feet or so.

Most important of all, perhaps, was the use of oxygen, not only for much of the climbing over 21,000 feet, but even for sleeping part of each night at these altitudes. Yet valuable as it was, the oxygen was not an unmixed blessing. The weight of the apparatus was great, especially when extra cylinders had to be carried to the high-altitude base camps. Frequently the valves jammed or froze solid. And even with oxygen, personality tended to disintegrate. At a height where taking a single step is so difficult that it may require several minutes of concentrated effort, the mind becomes sluggish, the will falters and the ethical code melts away.

The party carried walkie-talkie radios with which their camps, strung out up the mountain, could communicate with each other, and also short-wave receivers by which they obtained daily reports on weather conditions in the vicinity. The expedition of thirteen white men, all from nations in the British commonwealth, Tenzing, and several dozen other natives of the region, was divided into working groups, each of which had its own tasks, preparatory to the grand final assault. For this, there were two alternate teams of two men each, only one of which, of course, succeeded. Sir Edmund Hillary, a New Zealander, tells the story of the final climb with casual understatement, in the best British public-school tradition:

> I had been cutting steps continuously for two hours, and Tenzing, too, was moving very slowly. As I chipped steps around still another corner, I wondered rather dully just how long we could keep it up. Our original zest had now quite gone and it was turning more into a grim struggle. I then realized that the ridge ahead instead of still monotonously rising, now dropped sharply away, and far below I could see the North Col and the Rongbuk Glacier. I looked upward to see a narrow snow ridge running up to a snowy summit. A few more whacks of the ice axe in the firm snow and we stood on top.

Earth's highest peak has been conquered; what next for mountaineering? Sir John Hunt believes that the victory will mean an impetus to climbing in other parts of the world, not the contrary. He thinks that there has been a too great preoccupation with Everest and that now many other challenging peaks will receive the attention they deserve. Meanwhile, to him and his party goes the credit in the record books of another "first," achieved with monumental human hardihood.

The book includes a series of magnificent photographs, many of them in color. It also includes detailed appendices on just what equipment you need to climb Mount Everest yourself, instructions which in my case are superfluous.

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THE POET AND SOCIETY

PETER VIERECK'S stimulating little book deals really with two rather than four "test cases," illumining the relation of art to social and political responsibility. The two test cases are the Bollingen award to Ezra Pound; and the similar and yet so different case of the German romantic poet, Stefan George. The other two of his four chapters are devoted to essays on "art versus propaganda" and "the poet in a machine age."

DREAM AND RESPONSIBILITY: *Four Test Cases of the Tension between Poetry and Society,* by Peter Viereck (University Press; $1.75).

Viereck brings to bear on the age-old problem of the relation of the artist to the responsibilities of society a genuine poetic intuition, a robust common sense, and the persuasive conviction that "aesthetics partly overlaps with ethics. I believe that greatness is most frequently found in the area of overlapping than outside of it." With this conviction to guide him he takes some very healthy swats at both the proponents of "art for art's sake" and the advocates of the poet's responsibility, who become captive propagandists, whether of the nation or any political cause. "The genuine value conserving intellectual," he declares, "will oppose both anti-value radicalism and patriotic fawning upon some secular government." He adds that he uses "secular" not in the clerical sense but to describe the "*vanitas vanitatum,* the short haired, mad executives, the pushers and rushers, the obscenely wholesome ones, the loathsome well adjusted ones, all those go-getters who never once in their whole lives glimpsed the Vergilian '*Lacrimae rerum*' behind whatever *vanitas* they were go-getting." In short, Viereck wants to have the poet and the artist both responsible for the moral standards of civilization and a disturber of the peace for every form of complacency and smugness.

The most important chapter of the book is the first, in which he resurrects the controversy over the Bollingen award to Ezra Pound. Viereck argues that the award was wrong on two counts. The first was that while Pound may have been a great poet, the poem on which the award was given did not merit any kudos as poetry; while in the second place it contained glorification of Fascism and anti-Semitism which should preclude any kind of recognition. Viereck takes a healthy swipe both at those who insisted that the anti-Semitism of the later Pound was irrelevant to the artistic merits of his poetry, and those who tried to excuse his anti-Semitism on the ground that Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* was also anti-Semitic. A distinction must be made according to Viereck, between ante-Belsen and post-Belsen anti-Semitism. In other words, the historical context may add or detract from heinousness of certain crimes. That, too, is a wise discrimination; and all of Viereck's discriminations seem to me to be wise.

By way of contrast, Viereck pictures the case of the German romantic poet, Stefan George, whose glorification of the amoral and anti-democratic hero paved the way for Hitler and actually anticipated him; who was nevertheless revolted by the actual realities of Hitlerism so that he exiled himself from his native land and became the inspiration of some of the aristocratic opponents of Hitler, some of whom lost their lives in the abortive effort upon his life.

In a final chapter on "The Poet in the Machine Age," Viereck, with the same common sense, criticizes both an uncritical glorification of technics and the romantic rebellion against the realities of a machine civilization.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

National Book Awards

THE FIFTH ANNUAL National Book Awards, representing official recognition by the entire book industry of distinguished works by American authors, were presented to Saul Bellow for his novel *The Adventures of Augie March,* to Bruce Catton for his Civil War study *A Stillness at Appomattox,* and to Conrad Aiken for his *Collected Poems.*

Gold medals were presented to the winning authors at a ceremony in New York on January 26, attended by more than five hundred literary critics and authors from all over the country, and book publishing people.

The awards, which are the only industry-wide honors in the book publishing field, are made to the most distinguished books of fiction, nonfiction, and poetry written by American authors and published during the previous year.

HORROR AND COMEDY

THIS RECENT NOVEL by Giono follows the inveterate French prejudice that a novel should be an adventure story (a *roman* should be *romanesque,* what else?) but it also happens into the current fashions for long, violent, episodic, historical romances, and for Italians. As Italian derring-do in the French manner it recalls both the *Charterhouse of Parma* by Stendhal and *All Men Are Mortal,* by Simone de Beauvoir. It is the story of a young Italian revolutionary aristocrat (in 1838) getting back to Italy through Provence, which is in the throes of a cholera epidemic, and Giono's way with the details of the epidemic makes *The Plague* of Camus look pale and unmedical. Giono is ahead of the game in physical horror, but short of being nauseating, since instead of compounding the physical with psychological and moral horror he counters it with a quite high psychological and moral comedy.

THE HORSEMAN ON THE ROOF, by Jean Giono (Knopf; $4).

The hero, not inappropriately named Angelo, has a boyish and operatic generosity, a simple dash, which is made endurable for the long run of 426 pages and indeed a major interest by his own interior struggle with his too naïve chivalry. But Angelo recognizes that in surviving he makes "three times the gestures necessary." And he goes on making them in spite of himself.

Another amusement, and a refreshment from the high-breasted historical in our country, is the novel lack of a love interest. There is a heroine, and married to a man nearly seventy, but the hero is not interested and she loves her husband. Not that the hero doesn't lay a hand on her, but it is only to massage her cyanosis when she comes down with cholera.

However, the real forte of Giono is in description, especially of things in light and weather. He can make a landscape more exciting than an adventure, sometimes overdoing it, like an even more vehement Van Gogh, but this is the first time in decades I have gone through narrative and dialogue waiting for the descriptions.

Giono's narrative form is impure and frequently clumsy; he makes parenthetical comments on his hero and in first presenting the epidemic he uses a tedi-

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ous person-to-person montage in the manner of Sartre; but the content and the spirit of the thing are very lively. The translation by Jonathan Griffin has the essential virtue for this case, of being rapid and clear, of not reading like a translation. There are some inaccuracies and an outright boner or so, but these are nothing compared to his success in letting the really splendid adventure-story come through.

DONALD SUTHERLAND

ROOSEVELT'S ORDEAL

THIS IS the second volume of Freidel's projected five-volume life of Roosevelt, and it more than bears out the promise of the first. To some extent this is due to the material for the period covered, 1920 to 1928, includes Roosevelt's physical affliction and his moral triumph over that affliction, the tensest drama of his entire career; but the major part of its effect the book owes to the writing.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: *The Ordeal,* by Frank Freidel (Little, Brown; $6).

Cool, indefatigable, wary, and mildly cynical, Freidel is the opposite of a dramatist; he undramatizes the emotional storms of this period, carefully presenting them as meteorology, not as the voice of Jupiter Tonans. Yet he avoids the dull pedantry of Dr. Dryasdust, presenting a living man, not an assemblage of features bereft of vitality. He is an admirable biographer.

In one respect, however, it seems to me that he has exhibited too much, not too little imagination. I doubt that any politician ever saw as far ahead and held as consistently to a single purpose as Freidel says that Roosevelt did during these years when he subordinated everything to the aim of becoming President. It was Louis Howe who cherished a fanatic's faith in Roosevelt's star, and Howe was just that—a fanatic, not a politician. Yet it must be admitted that the facts are susceptible of Freidel's interpretation without any undue torsion.

A striking feature of the book is its analysis of Eleanor Roosevelt, the most convincing that has as yet been presented. Some years ago I advanced the theory that people misunderstood the Roosevelts because, taking Franklin R, and Eleanor R, and bringing them together they got 2R, whereas the correct answer was R^2, a much greater value. Freidel has not fallen into that error; he is convinced that either of this pair, taken separately, would have amounted to much less than half the value of the combination. More than that he has a highly plausible theory of how Mrs. Roosevelt developed from an unschooled and rather ineffective girl into one of the powerful personalities of our time.

This is not merely good work, it is very fine work, the kind of thing that raises the exceptional biographer from an artisan into an artist. One must add to it, of course, prodigious industry, but diligence in a biographer, like honesty in a cashier, is one of those things to be assumed; what is more noteworthy in this instance is the biographer's command of a beautifully smooth and lucid style—a merit more conspicuous in this volume than in its predecessor. If this progression continues the remaining volumes may attain a dizzy level merely as literature.

To call a biography definitive when its subject has the dimensions of a Roosevelt is a risk no prudent reviewer will run; but as far as the youth and early manhood of the man are concerned it is hard to believe that Freidel has left anything important to be said. Incidentally, it is one reader's opinion that he has left precious little to be said about Alfred E. Smith. The Happy Warrior is dissected with the thoroughness of scientific surgery—coolly, unemotionally, with scrupulous respect for Smith's good qualities, but with ruthless exposure of his defects the worst of which was not any evil-doing but merely lack of size.

On Mrs. Roosevelt, on Al Smith, on other subsidiary figures, Daniels, for instance, Cox, McAdoo and so on, Freidel's touch is infallible. But on Franklin D. Roosevelt himself judgment must as yet be suspended. Roosevelt was a liberal and occasionally Freidel exhibits strange ideas about liberalism. "Curiously enough" he says in a footnote, "F.D.R. answered a question by saying that the greatest American was George Washington." Why curious? The typical liberal rates Jefferson as only the second American. Again and again one detects a certain obliviousness to the real essence of liberal philosophy.

Be that as it may, Freidel is evidently no bigot, and as a craftsman he is miles ahead of most of the writers on Roosevelt. His first volume was important; his second is more important, which makes him very decidedly, on this subject, the man to watch.

I wish, though, that he had not referred to "Daniel Willard, of the Pennsylvania Railroad." Poor Uncle Dan! He spent his life battling the Pennsy in defense of the Baltimore and Ohio, and here he is delivered unto the enemy!

GERALD W. JOHNSON

USEFUL SOCIOLOGY

THE AMATEUR READER of sociology is usually disturbed by two defects of the books he encounters. The first is a certain barbarousness of style, uncommon even among social scientists, a group little noted in our generation for the clarity, let alone the grace, of its printed utterances. The second may be expressed as a haunting sense that he has heard all of this before, that the writer has done little more than couch in labored terms a number of ancient platitudes. And this view of sociology is reinforced by the current tendency of sociologists to eschew the large generalization in favor of the small, detailed study, often replete with dubious coefficients of correlation.

OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY, by Donald R. Cressy (Free Press; $3).

It is impossible to absolve Mr. Cressey of the first sin. A sociologist, he proudly bears the cross of language his craft has constructed. At first glance, it appears that he meets the specifications of the second fault as well, for what could be more obvious than his final, verified hypothesis that individuals violate the trust reposed in them only when they encounter a problem, financial, social or other which they feel that they cannot share with wife, family or friends; when they are aware of the technical means of violating a trust; and when they are able to rationalize their action as borrowing or revenge. These would appear to be the commonplace of embezzlement the world over.

It would be exceedingly unfair to this intriguing little book to stop at this point. Actually two features make the study valuable. The conclusion is, after all, not as trite as it seems, for Mr. Cressey in his detailed study of some 130 inmates of three different prisons seems to have proven that all *three* of the elements mentioned preceded the commission of the crime and that when, on other occasions, one or more of the ele-

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ments was absent, then the prisoners refrained from breach of their trust. This is much more than the casual citizen aware separately of the facets of the crime could safely conclude.

The second valuable feature of the study is its method. Briefly, Mr. Cressey started with an hypothesis. When he found a case which could not be fitted into it, he discarded the hypothesis rather than the case and developed another. He continued in this manner until he found an hypothesis into which every case fitted. The virtue of the method is its user's willingness to refine his theory in the presence of stubborn facts and the theory's susceptibility of further demonstration. Other investigators can easily go on to look for cases which disprove Mr. Cressey's theory. Should they find them, the theory can be modified accordingly.

This sociological dilettante, then, is prepared to accord Mr. Cressey rather higher marks in the analysis of a subject which must have fascinated most of us at one time or another: Why do men steal? Why do they break faith?

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

THE RECORD REVIEW

FRITZ REINER's complete recording of the Bach Orchestral Suites (RCA-Victor) again brings up the sore and terribly troublesome question of how this music should be played. Mme. Landowska is said to have remarked to a pianist: "You play Bach your way, and I play him Bach's way." This little apocryphon indicates what is, I suppose, everybody's attitude toward his own performance of the music. Reiner has, for the Suites, collected an excellent house orchestra, small enough to insure a proper balance between winds and strings and to preserve the lean texture most flattering to the contrapuntal substance of the music. But Reiner's interpretation is colored by an attitude that seems to have grown out of his experience with romantic orchestral literature rather than from a really sympathetic study of Baroque scores. In striving for a kind of dramatic effectiveness that simply cannot be drawn from this kind of music, Reiner has frequently chosen fantastic and totally inappropriate tempi, and has allowed himself really shocking freedom in other rhythmic matters, especially in the familiar second and third Suites. The result is a very saddening compromise between the cool, fastidious interpretations of a man like Robert Shaw and the irresponsible performances of Koussevitsky and Stokowski.

A young French pianist, Reine Gianoli, has recorded all six of Bach's French Suites (Westminster), and while purists will complain that the piano is not the proper instrument for this music, Mlle. Gianoli's reading shows much greater respect for the conception behind it than does Mr. Reiner's. Mlle. Gianoli plays with great sweetness of tone, with respect for the rhythmic proprieties and with the variety of touch that is, for the piano, a substitute for harpsichord color.

One of the most perfect records of recent months is of four short Haydn chamber works — a four-movement Scherzando in F and three Divertimenti —performed by members of the London Baroque Ensemble (Westminster). All four of the works are superbly proportioned and represent Haydn at his inventive best. The performances are impeccable, the engineering magnificent, and the balancing of the four works with each other is brilliant.

It would be a pleasure to report as favorably of Mozart's Serenade in B-flat, for thirteen wind instruments, performed by members of the Vienna Philharmonic Wind Group (Westminster). The performance is beautiful, but the work is not. Taking the better part of an hour to perform, it represents that kind courtly music which, two hundred years ago, could be bought, and which Mozart and Haydn occasionally sold, by the yard. The care that Mozart usually devoted to such music is conspicuously absent in most of the seven movements collected here, and downright vulgarity all too often takes the place of the delicacy and charm that we expect in Mozart's light music.

The occasional accidental vulgarity of an off-beat Mozart work is nothing when compared with that of André Jolivet, a member of the group known as "La Jeune France," which also includes Oliver Messaien and other not-so-*jeune* composers. Westminster has recorded three of M. Jolivet's *opera* on a single disc: a Piano Concerto, a Concerto for Trumpet, Piano and Strings, and an Andante for Strings. The jacket provides an illuminating quotation from the composer:

> From the technical standpoint, my aim is to liberate myself totally from the tonal system; aesthetically it is to give back to music its ancient and original character as the magical and incantational expression of human groups. Music should be a sonorous manifestation directly related to the universal cosmic system.

If Jolivet has anything so grand as all this in mind, and if the three works presented here are at all representative of what he has realized of his aims, he has a long, long way to go. The Andante is early, and should probably not be subjected to the criteria that the composer's statement would suggest. The Trumpet Concerto is a frivolous little display piece consisting mainly of some old-fashioned dominant cadences with reasonably tart quasi-contrapuntal sections in between. The Piano Concerto is a serious work, made up, in the piano part, of the scales, runs and other pianistic leavings of Liszt, Rachmaninoff and company. It differs from the old warhorses in that the piano has to compete with absurdly heavy orchestration and that the formal controls seem to have been abandoned.

In all this, there is a use of *Petrouchka*-like sonorities and rhythms, and of the cabaret-like sounds which, in 1920, were *le dernier cri* in France. When Milhaud wrote this kind of music thirty years ago, he did a much better job of it, and did it without any high-minded notions about expressing the Cosmos or upsetting the musical apple-cart. The performances and the recording are much better than the music deserves.

ROBERT EVETT

SHAKESPEARE'S POLITICS

by Eric Bentley

MELODRAMA presents the struggle of right and wrong; tragedy—on one famous view of it—the struggle of right and right; Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* the struggle of wrong and wrong. That is what makes the play so hard to take. As one of Henry Luce's anonymous spokesmen recently indicated, the American theatre public insists on some characters being simply right and others simply wrong. He might have said the same of any other public, American or un-American, in the theatre or out of it. We all view life as melodrama, insofar as we are fools. Only to the extent that we are men can we see it as tragedy or comedy.

Now, though our folly is by no means confined inside theatre walls, our human-

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ity is very easily left outside them. For we are wholly foolish when our individuality is lost in mob emotion, and any crowd of people—including an audience—can easily become a mob. Tragedy and comedy always tend, in the theatre, to decline into melodrama and farce; those critics who are the mob's representatives praise tragedy and comedy precisely in the degree that they do so decline: *Hamlet* is "as exciting as a who-done-it," *The Would-Be-Gentleman* is "as funny as *Room Service*." Et cetera.

If it is hard, then, for a producer to put across a tragedy or a comedy, how much harder for him to put across a play that combines the more forbidding features of both to the exclusion of every melodramatic and farcical possibility! Such a play is *Coriolanus;* it is absolutely nothing but a masterpiece; we almost have to feel sorry for it.

Except that it hurts our feelings, gets under our skin, affronts our prejudices, and corrects our convictions. It is the most modern of Shakespeare's works in the sense that modern writers have been trying to write it: no wonder that our greatest comedian, Shaw, called it the greatest of Shakespeare's comedies! Those who have attempted political tragedy in our time have achieved, at best, brilliant political melodramas like *Darkness at Noon*. At worst, they have excitedly informed us that Fascism or Communism or capitalism is wicked and that common folk (like you and me in the $7.80 orchestra) are models of heroic virtue and good sense.

It is true that you can't fully identify yourself with anyone in *Coriolanus*. From the Broadway viewpoint, that is bad. From the human viewpoint, it is good—because you are prevented from non-identification with evil, from pushing evil away, from locating it exclusively in the other fellow, the other place, Moscow or Corioli. The evil is here in Rome, in Washington, in Coriolanus, in our classmate Alger Hiss, in me, and in you—*hypocrite lecteur*. The reference to Hiss will seem pretty callow to our Marxist friends, not only because he was quite right to be a spy for Moscow (or is it that he *wasn't* a spy? I forget), but also because they acknowledge no continuity between personal character and political action. The rest of us have been coming round from the Marxist position to the Shakespearian one and are willing to see treason—that of Alger Hiss or Benedict Arnold—as the other face of pride, first of the deadly sins. *Some* identification with Coriolanus we have, perforce, to permit ourselves.

The dignity of John Houseman's production derives from taste, intelligence, and discretion, and the greatest of these is discretion. Mr. Houseman is a man of integrity, and has resisted the temptation to slant a masterpiece whose greatness is all vertical. The people—about whom Shakespeare is so "undemocratic"—are presented in all their moral ambiguity. No attempt is made to whitewash the enemy leader, Aufidius, superbly played by John Emery. If Mr. Houseman tips the scales at all, it is to overweight the badness of his hero. Perhaps this was the inevitable result of casting Robert Ryan for the role. Unable to suggest caste and the pride of caste, Mr. Ryan seems too simply a boor (and, hence, a bore). Not that one suspects this actor to be boorish by nature; he works all too hard and too obviously at it. It is only that, if Coriolanus is not an aristocrat, he is just a disgruntled gladiator.

Nor was Mildred Natwick quite the right choice for his mother. What she does, she does beautifully, and it is thrilling to learn how far from her comic character work this actress can go; one admires the breadth of gesture and emotion. But what of that fatal rigidity of character which characterizes three generations of her family (even the little boy tortures butterflies)? Before Volumnia kneels, we should think: this woman's knees would never bend. With Miss Natwick, loving compliance seems entirely natural.

Mr. Houseman's is not pseudo-British Shakespeare. With no more than two or three exceptions, the actors do not use the hooing and cooing Oxford voice. But, in avoiding the British gentility, Mr. Houseman perhaps falls into an American gentility, almost midwestern in its hominess. The author of *The Merry Wives* (owner of New Place, son of a butcher) would understand. Yet the material of early Roman history is the least genteel he ever used. Half-barbaric, half-aristocratic (or is it that aristocracy always *is* half-barbaric?), the stuff of this story can only be destroyed by being refined. Mr. Houseman has not destroyed his play; the refinement is only partial; but it is damaging enough. Both Coriolanus and his mother have become remarkably middle class; indeed, the former role has been drastically cut for the purpose. Or take stage "business." The 1623 Folio tells us Aufidius *stands* on Coriolanus' corpse in angry triumph; Mr. Houseman's Aufidius stamps his foot once—on the floor. The rest follows. The setting is by Oenslager. Alvin Colt's costumes, though very becoming in their rich reds, browns, and blues, are far too picturesque for the subject. The effect of the whole production is of Beethoven's Fifth played pianissimo upon muted instruments.

On the other hand, it must also be said that Mr. Houseman's method yields results, both general and of detail. The chief general merit of the production—beyond the competence we take for granted—is the peculiar sense of movement it conveys. This is a play that—for all the Elizabethan bustle of the scenes taken separately—remains stationary for whole sequences; then, of a sudden, it turns, as on a hinge or pivot, like some majestic old door. The alternation of stillness and tremendous reversal is Greek and awe-inspiring in its majesty. I would say that Mr. Houseman's largest achievement is to communicate a sense of this ancient and alien grandeur.

Among the many admirable details, the one that stands out in my memory is a conversation of three Volscian servants. The clowning of Gene Saks, Jack Klugman, and Jerry Stiller might serve as a model for future Shakespeare productions. In its unpatronizing lightness and uncute fun, its sharp satire, its controlled yet violent movement, the scene is in direct contrast to clown scenes as we usually and yawningly see them played. Modern elements, notably a sort of deadpan Brooklyn humor, are used for an Elizabethan effect. Paula Laurence's little "solo" as Valeria is successful in a similar way: here is simplicity where we usually get fancy talk, immediate charm where we usually get "Shakespearian acting."

I saw the show twice and would be glad to go again. While I deplored the choice of *Madam Will You Walk* as the opening play for the efficient new enterprise which is the Phoenix Theatre, *Coriolanus* makes ample amends. One hopes this theatre will rapidly forget Sidney Howard (what, after all, could be easier?) and establish for itself *an intellectual identity*—by which I don't mean a name for intellectuality—comparable, say, to that of Mr. Houseman's earlier enterprise, The Mercury.

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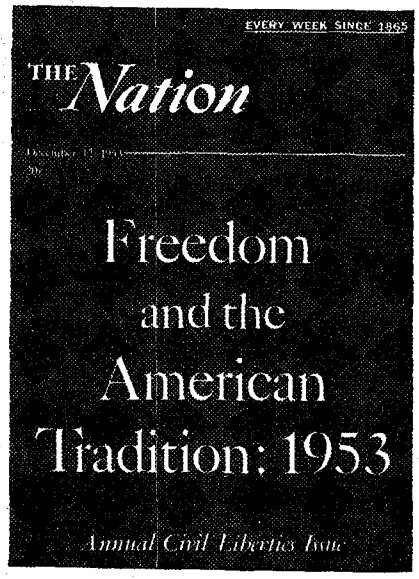

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From Our Readers

► Attention *NR* Readers

I think the readers of the *New Republic* will be interested to know that the American Christian Palestine Committee is holding a National Conference at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C., on February 14, 15 and 16, 1954.

The theme is "Israel in the Near East Context" and the Conference will center its attention on the Spiritual Significance of Israel; the Conquest of the Desert; Solution of Refugee Problems—Arab and Jewish; and a Newspaperman's View of the Near East and other phases.

National organizations and their local chapters are being invited to send observers. The Conference Headquarters at the Sheraton Park Hotel (Suite 507-C) welcomes requests for information from all interested individuals.

Washington, D. C. ELSIE JENSEN

► New Readers

. . . I only wish we were millionaires and your worries would be over. The only thing we can do is to send you subscriptions once in a while as we did last year. I am enclosing eight subscriptions to start with the issue on Elmer Davis. . . . We sincerely hope every subscriber will send as many new subscriptions as he can afford until we know the *New Republic* is on a solid financial basis.

DR. AND MRS. W. H. WINCHESTER
CLARICE WINCHESTER

Flint, Michigan

► Academic Freedom

May I provide documentation for Professor Hacker's prophecy, quoted by David Felix (*NR*, Jan. 18) that liberals willing to tamper with the traditional safeguards of academic freedom were like "Savonarola kindling the flames which would eventually consume them."

The Board of Education of the City of New York, in the role of Ministry of Enlightenment, has announced distribution of a pamphlet "Permit Communist-Conspirators To Be Teachers?" by one Hamilton A. Long. The following paragraph is quoted from Section III:

> Leading popular publications have in recent years given wide circulation to the views on this subject of one professor in particular and have thus in effect vouched for his being worthy to advise the American people, including the teaching profession, on this critically important topic. He is most inarticulate and has assumed a role of leadership in its public discussion. His views are therefore deemed to merit special comment here. He is Prof. Sidney Hook, Professor of Philosophy, and Chairman of the Department; New York University.

(See *Saturday Evening Post*, September 10, 1949, p. 33; *New York Times Magazine*, February 27, 1949, p. 7 July 9, 1950, p. 12; December 14, 1952, p. 9). He is the same Sidney Hook who signed the previously quoted "manifesto" in 1932—entitled *Culture and The Crisis*—in support of the candidates, and the "revolutionary struggle," of the "frankly revolutionary Communist Party" yet these publications gave their readers no warning of this fact. If warned, would not the readers have asked: Why pick this particular professor to guide our thinking on this particular subject?

Professor Hacker's prophecy was made in the course of a debate in which the view that "Communist Conspirators" should not be permitted to teach was vigorously defended by—Sidney Hook. Professor Hook is not being consumed by flames in the Long pamphlet, but he is being scorched.

Yonkers, New York BENJAMIN MAZEN

► Ambassador's Report

May I thank you for the penetrating essay (it was more than just a review) on Chester Bowles' *Ambassador's Report.*

As a British friend of India and of Nehru I am convinced that Mr. Bowles will be sadly missed, and it will take a great diplomatic but unorthodox genius not to undo the work the former Ambassador has done.

Incidentally, may I correct you and Mr. Bowles on an amusing though trivial matter. You write: "Bowles observed many things about Nehru including his habit of cutting cigarettes in half before putting them in his holder—'a unique way of cutting down smoking'."

This is not so "unique." Nehru learned this method in prison. In Eastern Europe every "decent" and thrifty man will cut his cigarette in half. When American cigarettes were introduced just after the First World War—everybody cut his smokes in half. It would have been considered the grossest extravagance to smoke a *whole* cigarette!

Los Angeles, California CAMILLE HONIG

► It's the Law

Recently I read with interest your comment on page five of the December 7, 1953, issue of the *New Republic* concerning the action of the Texas State Board of Education in connection with textbooks. Your report was accurate in part and in part inaccurate.

In the first place, your editorial comment implied that the State Board of Education arbitrarily required all authors and illustrators "dead or alive" to furnish non-Communist affidavits before their books can be adopted for use in the public schools of Texas. The truth of the matter is that the Board of Education is required by law to take such action. Personally I

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• ". . . he has a profound understanding . . . of the men in the Kremlin.— *The New Yorker*

do not endorse the required oath and although I have never polled the Board, I am confident that a good many others feel the same way. Because of statutory requirements the Board has no option in such matters.

The second comment is that the Board did not spend a good part of the day discussing this question. A liberal estimate of the time spent would probably be a maximum of one and one-half hours.

San Antonio, Texas W. W. JACKSON

► Elmer Davis on the Air

Thank you so much for the "magnitudinous" issue of January 18, which had for its central theme: "Elmer Davis on the Air." I rate it the finest issue of *New Republic* since the moving brochure of one year ago . . . on Adlai Stevenson. In both cases, you chose a supremely wonderful subject.

Wichita, Kans. C. WILLIAM PLATT

Bandwagon

The proposed constitutional amendment sponsored by Bricker attempts to limit the making of treaties so that they will bypass the American Constitution and federal statutes. – *Minneapolis Morning Tribune, January 9, 1954.*

I've never been a guy with material desires. All I really want is to be able to slap a hunk of steak on the barbecue in back of the house and slice it up for the family, play a game of golf now and then and, mostly, just lie on the green couch in the small den on the first floor and peel and eat pears and apples while I'm watching the same television programs you watch. – *Perry Como in "My Story," American Weekly, January 10, 1954.*

It was known that neither labor nor employer groups were happy and that the White House hoped this would convince the public generally that the President's approach was both moderate and fair. – *New York Times, January 12, 1954.*

"The president's main complaint is that we don't give him enough time to think, as he puts it," Shanley said. "Finally we had to set aside half an hour in the morning and the same time in the afternoon to give the President the time he requires." – *AP Dispatch, January 18, 1954.*

Amy's Earl (Red) Blaik, accepted an award as football's coach of the year, said the time has come for sports fans to rally against those who fear that the game may not be "worth it." . . . [He said] "The easiest way to undermine the country is to destroy our youth's faith in athletics." – *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, January 11, 1954.*

McCarthy told reporters that he believes a witness who denies being a spy has by the very denial opened up the entire field for questioning about his activities and associates, and has therefore waived his right to invoke the Fifth Amendment. – *Chicago Daily Tribune, January 12, 1954.*

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Memo from Michael Straight

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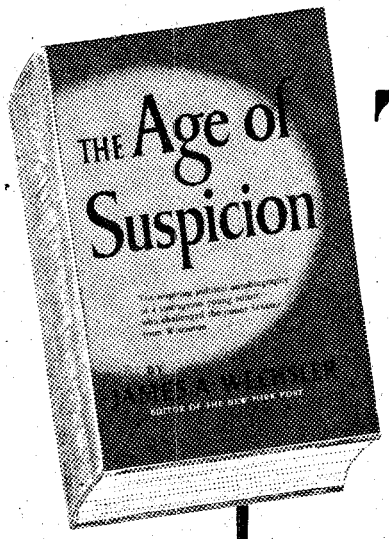

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—R. L. Duffus in the *New York Times,* November 15, 1953

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—Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in the *New Republic,* November 16, 1953

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